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# Literary Bequests in Early Ohio Wills

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## *Introduction*

It is not surprising that besides the family Bible, few books or libraries are mentioned in early Ohio wills, for life on the frontier demanded that one devote full attention to life's essentials. For most, this meant the acquisition of a piece of land and the construction of a home. It is such proprietary bequests, therefore, that dominate early Ohio wills.

One does discover, however, that the early doctors and lawyers of Ohio frequently made provision for the safekeeping of their medical and legal libraries, transferring the intellectual tools of their trade to individuals or institutions fit to preserve such an accumulated wealth of knowledge. One can also find the family of a similarly prominent, early Ohioan who was the subject of a biographer's pen, seeking to will his published life story to posterity.

Less frequently, but perhaps more interestingly, early Ohioans whose individual livelihoods did not involve the establishment of professional libraries also occasionally mentioned private book collections in their wills, apparently valuing such volumes among their most prized possessions. On the rarest of occasions, one finds an individual or two who, when contemplating his imminent demise, seeks to establish a library as a gift to his fellow man.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine those wills which contain literary bequests and determine, if possible, the place which literature occupied in the life of the bequeather. The possible influence or impact of such bequests upon the community will also be noted.

## *Early Attorney/Politicians*

> Edward T. Denig, Red River Settlement of the North, British Possessions requests that his son Alexander (Ean och she or Boy of Aone) be sent to English school at age 12, while his daughter Sarah (Mock pe e dai or Firey Cloud) should continue to attend school until age 15. The children are not to be taken to the U.S. to be educated nor taken from their mother-better a private teacher, perhaps Rev. Bellecour. The wife is unacquainted with federal money so it should be paid to the Hudson Bay Company for use-
>
> From will dated 12 Sept. 1856. Witnessed by Joseph Dorbescue, clerk, Hudson Bay Company.[1]

While the excerpt above makes no mention of either books or libraries, it bears witness to the value some pioneers placed on education, even on the remote frontier, and it was this

sentiment which would bring early book traders and publishers to the west, providing literature to the region's pioneer doctors, lawyers and clergymen, as well as the general public.

The fact that one's will is on file at an Ohio county courthouse does not mean that its author is a state resident. Indeed, Edward T. Denig, whose concern for the welfare of his native American wife and their children is evident in the passage from his will above, died near Winnipeg, Canada, and identified his original home as "Ft. Union of (the) Upper Missouri." Similarly, one discovers the 1828 will of Thomas Monteagle Bayly (1775-1834), former congressional representative from the state of Virginia, on file in Franklin County, Ohio. In this instance, however, the reason becomes readily apparent when one reads that Bayly owned ten thousand acres of land in Ohio which he willed to his son Thomas Henry. Of greater relevance for our purposes, the elder Bayly indicates that his son " . . . is also to have my law books . . .[2] Thomas M. Bayly of Accomac County, Virginia, graduated Princeton College in 1794. After studying law, he was admitted to the bar two years later, and practiced in his home county. Politically prominent, Bayly was a member of the Virginia house of delegates (1798-1801, 1819, 1820, 1828-1831) and the Virginia senate (1801-1809) as well as a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1829 and 1830. From 1813-1815 he served in the House of Representatives of the Thirteenth Congress. An early biographical directory of government figures toasted Bayly's political success with the comment, "It was said of him that he never lost an election."[3]

Thomas Henry Bayly (1810-1856) followed in his father's footsteps. Inheriting the entire family estate, Mount Custis, along with his father's law books (his brother William, receiving no part of the estate, was directed instead to be sent to trade school in Massachusetts), he graduated from the University of Virginia at Charlottesville in 1829, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1830, and practiced also in Accomac County. His political career was even more distinguished than his father's, as he served in the Virginia house of delegates from 1836 to 1842, and was elected judge of the superior court of law and chancery before moving on to the House of Representatives where he served for twelve years, from 1844 until his death in 1856. He chaired the House Committees on Ways and Means and Foreign Affairs at different times during his congressional tenure.[4]

The will of Mrs. Eleanor W. Campbell, signed on 6 March 1862, bequeaths to nephews Mitchell C. and William B. Lilley (and their families), and to the American Colonization Society and the Boards of Foreign and Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church, one hundred copies each of *The Life of John W. Campbell*,[5] her deceased husband and late Judge of the District Court of the United States from 1829 to 1833. John W. Campbell (1782-1833) grew up near Miller's Iron Works in Augusta County, an area of Virginia quite different from that inhabited by Thomas Monteagle Bayly. Yet, he was destined for a life intimately connected to libraries and learning. Physically unsuited for farm labor and desirous of an education from an early age, Campbell prevailed upon his parents, who were of limited means, to send him to a series of Latin school teachers-first in Bourbon County, Kentucky, then in Highland County, Ohio, as his family relocated.[6] Because his father could not afford the price of books or tuition, John Campbell worked before and after school clearing ground to pay expenses. In time, Campbell became well-versed in Latin, learned some Greek, and taught the classics as well.

Seeking greater challenges, Campbell moved to Morgantown, Virginia (in modem West Virginia), in order to study law with his uncle Thomas Wilson, who was an attorney there. After admission to the bar in 1808, Campbell served as prosecuting attorney of Adams and Highland counties. In 1811, he married Eleanor Doak of Augusta County, Virginia, who was to

conscientiously compile and publish his papers posthumously more than two decades later. After an unsuccessful run for the state legislature in 1812, he won election in 1813 and again in 1815.[7] Campbell captured a seat in the House of Representatives in 1816 which he occupied for the next ten years. He proved to be a moderate supporter of Andrew Jackson, studiously avoiding the vituperative partisanship which characterized many congressional sessions of those years.

While not among the most vociferous of congressmen, John W. Campbell had occasion during his tenure of office to participate in more than one debate concerning access to written information. In these instances, Rep. Campbell consistently championed the cause of informational freedom.

John W. Campbell. This plate appears in *Biographical Sketches* published by Campbell's widow in 1838. (SOCIETY COLLECTIONS)

On 21 January 1823, the Speaker of the House of Representatives placed before the body a letter from the official House printers, Gales & Seaton, requesting an inquiry into charges which had been brought against them alleging censorship of public documents.[8] An anonymous letter to the *Washington Republican* newspaper contended that the printers had suppressed portions of documents which cast aspersions upon the integrity of Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford. Crawford had been called upon to account for all the transactions he had made with banks holding deposits from the sale of public lands. After Henry Dwight of Massachusetts introduced a resolution calling for the formation of a committee to investigate the charges, and Peter Little of Maryland argued against the necessity of such action (based as it was upon an anonymous letter in a newspaper), John Campbell addressed the House. Attempting to impress upon Rep. Little the seriousness of the matter, Campbell stated that he had taken the trouble to inspect the document in question. It was a letter from one W. R. Dickinson, cashier of

the bank of Steubenville (in Campbell's home state, though not his district). While there was no way of knowing whether the information was suppressed inadvertently or by design, "It was due to all who could be suspected of this suppression, that it should be inquired into."[9] In addition, Campbell characterized as "shameful" any attempt to defraud the House of Representatives in such a manner. (After further discussion, an investigatory committee was formed with Henry Dwight as a member.)

On 3 February 1823, Campbell introduced a joint resolution calling for distribution of the *Digest of the Returns of the Manufactures and Manufacturing Establishments of the United States* which had been commissioned by the Secretary of State.[10] The matter was not taken up until February 7 when Campbell proposed to amend the original resolution by providing that the digest be added to the Library of Congress. At this point Robert Wright of Maryland took the opportunity to attack the digest itself as inaccurate and misleading, an opinion seconded by both Francis Baylies of Massachusetts and John Cocke of Tennessee, who felt that the manufacturing strength of their respective districts was not reflected in the digest. Campbell, supported by Timothy Fuller of Massachusetts, maintained that any inaccuracies were attributable to the refusal of some manufacturers to respond to the survey. Furthermore, Campbell contended, in a statement supporting the sentiments of John Taylor of New York, that, "If there is any information in it (the digest), let us send it out."[12] Wright and Cocke, however, were joined by Walter Patterson of New York and Thomas Mitchell of South Carolina in further decrying the shortcomings of the digest. Consequently, the resolution urging its distribution (1,500 copies had already been printed) was tabled.[13]

After leaving Congress in 1827, Campbell moved from his home in West Union, Adams County, to a farm in neighboring Brown County in southwestern Ohio. During his period of residence in Brown County, Campbell became involved in the issue of public education. In an article he wrote entitled "Common Schools,"[14] Campbell countered several arguments made by those who found reason to oppose the public schools. To those older citizens with no school-age children who balked at supporting schools for others, Campbell stated that, "The whole Republic is deeply interested in the education of every son and daughter . . ." Some citizens maintained that children were needed at home to help with the chores. Campbell urged that all children should "be taught to read at the earliest day possible, when their services at home are of little account .. ," adding that "To restrain a child from going to school until he is ten or twelve, is an act of cruelty scarcely pardonable," because he will feel distinctly out-of-place among younger, but educationally more advanced students.

Indeed, a friend, writing about Campbell after his death, emphasized his commitment to the common schools as well as his plan for a public lyceum (ultimately unrealized).[15] Campbell, whose published life story would be mentioned among his widow's most valued possessions in her will, was a man whose life was built around books and learning, and he did all he could to improve other's access to the same. It is ironic that, after being named District Judge of the United States for the state of Ohio in 1829, Campbell was to move to Columbus in order to have ready access "to the State and other libraries, in the prosecution of his literary studies"[16]--a move which was to result in his death (following soon after that of his adopted daughter) during the great cholera epidemic of 1833. (Joseph N. Campbell, John's brother, and a county judge, also died of cholera that summer.)[17]

***Library Builders***

A mere twelve days before Eleanor Doak Campbell signed her will, one James Simpson of Hamilton County completed his. Simpson, an inmate at the Ohio Penitentiary, willed half his worldly wealth to the Children's Aid Society in order to help the children of the destitute by providing them with suitable homes where they could be raised according to Christian and moral doctrine. The other half was to be used to "benefit in some small degree . . my fellow men confined with me in prison" by purchasing books for a circulating library, providing the legislature matched his donation.[18] Should the legislature refuse to do so, the money should be given to the Orphan's Home or the Protestant Society for support of orphan children in Columbus. Simpson firmly believed that the proverbial ounce of prevention was worth a pound of cure: ". . the ways of the transgressor is <sic> hard and .. the effort to save children from the haunts of wickedness are far more efficacious than any effort can possibly be to reform those already steeped in its iniquity."[19]

In actuality, there was a prison library in the Ohio Penitentiary as early as 1851, under the supervision of the prison chaplain.[20] Its condition, however, was abysmal. In 1852, the library circulated eight hundred nearly-worn-out volumes-all of a religious or didactic nature. The state legislature appropriated three hundred dollars in 1855, helping to boost the library holdings to 6,600 books. The books themselves, unfortunately, remained pedantic. For the next eight years the prison library languished. Eighty-five percent of the library's books deteriorated to the point where they were unfit for circulation. James Simpson's bequest of 1862 accurately reflected the serious need to revitalize and upgrade the library. One year after Simpson's death the Ohio General Assembly appropriated seven hundred dollars for new books. Simpson's will may not have prompted the legislative action, but it certainly highlighted a genuine problem. Sadly, the cycle was to repeat itself in future years. A sudden infusion of funds would improve the collection one year, only to see the situation deteriorate due to neglect in the following years. Some gradual improvements did occur as popular magazines and newspapers were added to the collection by the 1880s, and a librarian was placed in charge of the library when the position of chaplain was abolished in 1885.[21]

Early Ohio physicians, as well as attorneys, were more likely than the average citizen to possess and bequeath a collection of books. On June 4, 1872, one William Yantis, of New Albany in Franklin County, bequeathed to his daughter, Elizabeth Wilder, his personal property which consisted "in part of one cupboard, one chest, two boxes of saddles and harness makers <sic> tools and one small trunk full of books, and also such surgical instruments that is <sic> in the chest above mentioned."[22] Similarly, John S. Metzger's will of 30 November 1880 bequeaths his library to his wife Eliza.[23]

Born in Hanover, Pennsylvania, John S. Metzger became one of Columbiana County's leading physicians.[24] Paul Metzger, John's paternal grandfather, emigrated to America from Germany. Jacob, John's father, was one of Hanover's prominent merchants. John studied medicine under Professor James Miller of Baltimore, Maryland, graduating from Baltimore Medical College in 1827. He practiced medicine in Huntingdon and Hanover before moving to Columbiana County in 1851. Before giving up his practice due to ill health several years before his death, Metzger "ranked second to none" in his field. He was also recognized as one of the founding fathers of Columbiana County's early development.[25]

The estate of Aaron M. Church of Coshocton County was disposed of not by will but by public auction held on 3 July 1815. A well-educated lawyer from New England and early settler

of Coshocton County, Aaron Church might conceivably have risen to political office or the judiciary as did Thomas Bayly and John Campbell; however "dissipation and neglect of business reduced him to a needy condition."[26] He died in the spring of 1816 of "cold plague," vacating the office of prosecuting attorney. Coshocton went without a resident lawyer for five years until William G. Carhart opened a practice in 1821.

The bill of sale filed with the Coshocton County clerk's office by Samuel Lee, administrator of Aaron Church's estate, reveals that the most valuable items proved to be two manuscript volumes bought by one Wright Warner for six dollars.[27] Next in value were two pair of silk stockings, a violin and a flannel coat. Perhaps future researchers might discover the nature of the two manuscript volumes, or, even more interestingly, how a promising, well-educated, frontier lawyer could meet such a quick and untimely end.

In a will dated 14 January 1856, Charles E. Perigo, late of "Vistula Addition," Toledo, bequeathed to his brother, Lorin Perigo of Cincinnati, his "double barrel fowling piece with case, flask pouch . . . also such books as he may select from my library."[28] If for no other reason, Charles Perigo's will is noteworthy because its author was neither an attorney nor a physician (nor, for that matter, a prisoner), but rather, a nurseryman. Charles Perigo operated a nursery along with partners A.W. Maddocks and Fred Prentice on the east side of the Maumee River.[29] The business, originally begun as Maddocks + Son in 1845 (the first exclusive nursery business on the Maumee), was built on land owned by Prentice. They raised and sold apple and pear trees as well as ornamentals, vegetables and other plants.

In an interesting aside, apparently Perigo's will was penned well in advance of his demise, for one discovers a Charles E. Perigo of Toledo presiding as secretary at the Friends of Temperance in Fulton and Lucas Counties convention held at Swanton on 15 September 1863.[30] (There is no indication whether the Perigo library consisted primarily of horticultural and/or temperance volumes, or other literature.)The will of William Augustus White, signed 2 January 1864, found its way to Lucas County by virtue of land owned by its author in Toledo. A manufacturer of hatters' furs, White also owned land in the New York City boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn (where he resided), Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Mobile and Danbury, Connecticut (his native city). White's loyalty to his hometown brings him to the attention of this study, for it is expressed in the form of a ten thousand dollar bequest earmarked for the establishment of a library to serve the citizens of Danbury.[31]

White's posthumous gift was the first in a series of philanthropic acts by the White family over a period of fourteen years which resulted in the establishment, construction, and furbishing of the Danbury Library. After receipt of William Augustus White's ten thousand dollar bequest five years after his death (as specified in his will), the Connecticut legislature formally incorporated the Danbury Library in 1869.[32] The next year, Alexander Moss White, brother of the deceased, gave to the library the White family home on Main Street as well as a plot of land upon which to erect a new library building. At the same time, Alexander and a third brother, George Granville White, each donated five thousand dollars toward construction of the new library building. Alexander also pledged five hundred dollars toward repair and furnishing of the family home for library purposes. An additional five hundred dollars was donated by Alexander in 1871 for the purchase of books.

Between 1876 and 1878 the White brothers contributed nearly forty thousand dollars more in order to establish the Danbury Library in its new home. Completed in 1879 from plans provided by Lamb & Wheeler of Newark, New Jersey, the library was opened to subscribers who paid $1.50 each for its use. In 1893, Alexander White and his children enabled the library to

become free to the public by donating an additional forty-four thousand dollars for a third building. The number of library patrons increased from 320 to 2300 within the year.

Alexander White's son, given the same name as his uncle, William Augustus, would ensure that his family's relationship to the world of libraries and literature would not be only philanthropic in nature. Born in 1843, the younger William Augustus, after a Harvard education, joined the family business, eventually becoming a trustee of the Washington Water Power Company in 1897. It is, however, as an internationally-known bibliophile that William Augustus, the younger, built upon the civic accomplishments initiated by his namesake.[33] While the generosity of the uncle would ultimately render accessible to the local community the world of literature, the nephew became a scholarly, private collector of rare Elizabethan literary manuscripts. Among his holdings were the First Quartos of Shakespeare's *Love's Labour Lost* (1598), *Troilus and Cressida* (1609), *Othello* (1622), and the *Sonnets* (1609). His collection also included works by Marlowe, Jonson, Milton and Blake. In Europe as well as America White's opinions concerning rare volumes were considered authoritative.

In the fall of 1915, as the 300th anniversary of William Shakespeare's death approached, W.A. White suggested to Henrietta C. Bartlett, cataloger of his private collection, that an exhibition of books by and about the great dramatist might be arranged to commemorate the occasion.[34] White's own collection, as well as the New York Public Library's, formed the heart of the exhibition which was held from 2 April until 15 July 1916 and drew over 66,000 visitors. Because the British Museum's Shakespeare collection (the world's best) and most other British collections are publicly owned, and therefore could not be loaned, the New York exhibition was believed to be "the finest collection of books relating to Shakespeare which was ever brought together in one place."[35]

In 1926, one year before White's death, Pynson Printers of New York published the *Catalogue of Early English Books, Chiefly of the Elizabethan Period*, collected by William Augustus White and cataloged by Henrietta C. Bartlett. Both Harvard and Princeton universities received parts of this collection following White's death in 1927. Harvard, White's alma mater (class of 1863), received eighty-eight volumes valued then at $420,000.00, the most precious of which were a 1599 second edition of *Romeo and Juliet* (twelve copies known to exist); the 1598 edition of *Love's Labour Lost* (eleven copies known); and a 1600 edition of *Much Ado About Nothing* (sixteen copies known). Princeton received a fine first folio of Shakespeare known as the Ives copy.

Doctor Abraham Simon Wolf Rosenbach selected the volumes for Harvard, choosing those which were most needed to further enhance the university's already substantial research capabilities. Rosenbach characterized White's holdings as the last great Shakespeare collection in private hands.[36] The addition of White's volumes allowed Harvard to claim ownership of more than half of Shakespeare's earlier (pre-1640) plays, and over three quarters of those issued between 1640 and 1703. In addition, the university now owned enough plays by John Dryden, Nahum Tate and other playwrights who based their works on Shakespeare to support advanced scholarship in that area of drama. Rosenbach also noted that a set of drawings by William Blake illustrating Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* was to be presented by the White estate to the British Museum. He considered this to be the greatest literary/artistic gift ever made by an American to a British institution.

Princeton University President John Grier Hibben, whose institution awarded White an honorary Litt.D. degree in 1926, noted that generosity such as White's was rare among collectors. Hibben lauded the manner in which White opened his collection "with a liberal hand

to the use of scholars, young and old." White's contributions to learning, stated Hibben, "had helped to spread about that culture of the mind and taste without which our vast accumulation of wealth and power will be but vanity and vexation of spirit."[37]

Generosity is a term appropriately applied to both William Augustus White the elder, whose bequest made the world of literature available to thousands of residents in his native city of Danbury, Connecticut, as well as his nephew and namesake, William Augustus White the younger, whose rare collected volumes were rendered accessible to future generations of scholarly researchers. The White's benevolence serve the interests of both the general reading public and the literary specialist, as both gifts keep on giving. The Danville Library continues to serve new members of the community, while literary scholars proceed to research and write, adding to our existing knowledge of Elizabethan drama.

***Library Vaults***

On 3 October 1845, over seventeen years before his death on 7 January 1863, Elisha Whittlesey of Canfield Township, Mahoning County, willed his public documents and newspapers to Western Reserve College in Hudson, Ohio. Whittlesey, who served in the House of Representatives for fifteen years, was afraid his papers might be scattered and misplaced if deposited in a private library. He also sought to benefit posterity "under a full conviction that the want of intelligence among the rising generations, of the political history of the country and the theory of this government endangers the union of the states."[38]

Elisha Whittlesey, prominent pioneer statesman of northern Ohio, was born in Washington, Connecticut, 9 October 1783. He was educated in the law in Danbury, and practiced as an attorney in Fairfield County. Moving to Ohio in 1806, Whittlesey became prosecuting attorney of Mahoning County. He served under General William Henry Harrison during the War of 1812, rising to the rank of major. Entering politics, he served in the Ohio house of representatives in 1820 and 1821; in Congress as representative from Ohio from 1823 to 1838 where he chaired the Committee on Claims; as Sixth Auditor of the Treasury from 1841 until 1843; and as Controller of the Treasury under Presidents Zachary Taylor, Millard Fillmore and Abraham Lincoln.

Elisha Whittlesey. (sc-4189, SOCIETY COLLECTIONS)

Ironically, Whittlesey has been largely ignored by historical researchers, although he was meticulous about documenting his own public activities in addition to preserving the historical records of others. Unfortunately, the request Whittlesey made in his 1845 will regarding the disposition of his papers was not honored. Rather than deposit his documents in the Western Reserve archives, Whittlesey's heirs constructed a vault on the family estate in order to house the collection.[39] One might say that Whittlesey's family attempted to comply at least partially with the spirit of the deceased's request, for the voluminous collection of papers was kept together in a safe, secure fire-proof structure. At least one of Elisha Whittlesey's fears, however, was realized as a result of his family's decision-his papers benefitted no one for many years, principally because researchers were unaware of their existence. In this sense, it could be said that Whittlesey's papers were truly misplaced. The collection was essentially locked up and forgotten. William Whittlesey, Elisha's son and executor of the estate, died in 1890, apparently without providing for future care of his father's documents. The Whittlesey property was sold, and the new owners allowed souvenir hunters to take parts of the collection. It was not until late in 1899 that the Whittlesey vault was brought to the attention of historians. On December 5 C.H. Gallup of the Firelands Historical Society and Dr. Jackson Truesdale, a Mahoning County contemporary of Elisha Whittlesey with an historic interest in the papers, examined the collection. They found it mildewed and dusty but ordered. Gallup selected almost three hundred papers for addition to the Firelands Historical Society collection. In 1908 Wallace H. Cathcart and A.M. Dyer of the Western Reserve Historical Society learned of the existence of the Whittlesey papers. After protracted investigation, they located the collection in a Cleveland warehouse. George Whittlesey, Elisha's grandson, had taken possession of the papers, protecting them against possible destruction (reportedly suggested by other relatives); George's death transferred control of the collection to his widow who, glad to be rid of the papers as well as the associated insurance and storage fees, turned it over to Cathcart. The Western Reserve Historical Society began examining the collection in 1922. It consists of fifteen cartons, each containing an average of 3,500 manuscripts. Account books, maps, newspaper clippings, treasury records, war documents and letters can be found in the collection. Additional scattered Whittlesey manuscripts are held in other Ohio locales as well as New York and Washington D.C. The Ohio Historical Society collection in Columbus contains eight Whittlesey letters of a political nature spanning the years 1815-1860.

Elisha Whittlesey was a meticulous chronicler of his times, conscientiously devoted to exactness in record keeping. He regularly purchased books at shops and auctions to add to his library, and history was a passion of his.[40] As a treasury official Whittlesey was diligent in exposing government wastefulness which cost the taxpayers money. In a published letter he derided senators whose continuous, unnecessary adjournments scandalously shortened their workday. Such behavior, to Whittlesey, was a travesty, comparable to outright bribery.[41] The public would undoubtedly benefit if there were more Whittleseys watching over the government coffers. Similarly, future researchers of nineteenth century American government will be thankful for Whittlesey's thorough documentation of his era, much of which, in the end, was preserved, though the preservation process was a bit more circuitous than Whittlesey would have wished.

One prominent early Ohioan specifically requested the type of protection for his library that was later afforded Elisha Whittlesey's. While Whittlesey wanted his papers deposited directly in the Western Reserve College Library, John A. Fulton, pioneer surveyor and early mayor of Chillicothe, preferred the approach adopted by Whittlesey's family. In a will dated 15

November 1840, Fulton asked his executors "to remove a small frame house standing on lot #162 . .and fit it for reception of my books which are to be kept for family use.[42] Anticipating the possible movement of his family to Fayette County, Fulton further specified that, should the move occur, a building should be erected at the new location to house his collection.

A native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Fulton moved to Chillicothe with his wife Lavinia in 1802. He worked as a surveyor in the Virginia Military District, covering several Ohio counties. Some of his work was to have historic significance: his surveying formed the basis of the lines drawn in the Greenville Treaty with the Indians, as well as the boundary between the states of Ohio and Indiana.[43] In addition to serving as mayor of Chillicothe (1828-'29, '31-'32), Fulton was active in education as chairman of the Scioto Township school directors.[44] Unfortunately, there is no indication whether Fulton's executors honored the request regarding his library.

While most of the persons discussed above were citizens of local or national prominence, literary bequests were not limited solely to those whose status enabled them to acquire their own libraries. In fact, we have seen that two of the previous ten bequests examined were attempts to establish for others that which they themselves did not possess-a library. If we accept in the present study those bequests which mention family record books and bibles as well as educational and literary-related items, our sample broadens appreciably to include Lt. William S. Bush of the U.S. Frigate *Constitution*, Chesapeake Bay. In a will dated 12 July 1812, Lt. Bush bequeathed to his friend and mess mate, Lt. John Conte, his portable writing desk.[45] We might also mention John Sharp of Madison Township. Sharp's will of 1 May 1863 speaks of his daughter Huldah who died in childbirth, but whose child, Mary Adaline, lived to be recorded in his family book.[46]

Religious works, commonly mentioned in early Ohio wills, attest to the faith of the midwestern pioneer. John Starr of Montgomery Township, in a will signed 30 October 1834, bequeathed to each of his eleven children one bible and one Presbyterian Church confession of faith.[47] Similarly, Edward Murry of Columbiana County, on 7 July 1880, willed his bible and one hundred dollars to one Frank Sheehan.[48] Early Ross County citizens John Winder and Clarina Backus also mentioned spiritual literature in their wills. Winder left his daughter, Sarah Kerns, the family bible in his will dated 22 February 1819,[49] while Backus provided for a donation to be made to the American Bible Society in her will dated 24 June 1831.[50]

A few other literary bequests may be found while scanning will collections, but they are scattered and not very different in kind from those already discussed. All the bequests encountered raised natural questions: What sort of person made this bequest? Why was the bequest made? What effect did the bequest have? In attempting to answer these and related questions, the researcher is taken in many different directions. As the original investigation expands, a biographical and social history unfolds which inevitably raises new questions for further research. In the end, the literary bequest proves an interesting entry point for examination of an era's cultural history.

Notes:

1. Blanche Tipton Rings, ***Franklin*** *County*, *Ohio Wills*, unpublished manuscript, copied 1955, 29.
2. Rings, Wills, 8.
3. Charles Lanman, *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States During its First Century* (Washington, D.C., 1876), 25.
4. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1777-1989* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 592.

5. Rings, *Wills*, 19.
6. See John Wilson Campbell, *Biographical Sketches: With Other Literary Remains of the Late John Campbell* (Columbus, Ohio, 1838), 1-13. The collection of articles was compiled by Campbell's widow.
7. *Dictionary of American Biography, vol. II* (New York, 1964), 459-60.
8. *Annals of Congress*, 17th Cong., 2nd Sess., 652.
9. *Annals*, 655.
10. ***Annals,*** 794.
11. ***Annals,*** 888.
12. *Annals,* 889.
13. ***Annals,*** 889.
14. Campbell, *Biographical Sketches*, 188-91.
15. Campbell, *Biographical Sketches*, 272-73.
16. Campbell, *Biographical Sketches*, *8.*
17. Campbell, *Biographical Sketches*, 275-79.
18. Rings, *Wills*, 104.
19. Rings, *Wills*, 104.
20 The following account of the prison library is based on George Cole, "A History of the Ohio Penitentiary From 1850 to 1900." (M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1941), 66-69.
21. Cole, "Ohio Penitentiary," 69.
22. Ohio Daughters of the American Revolution, "Ohio Wills." Unpublished collection of eight wills, 1977, 2.
23. Carol Willsey Bell, *Columbiana County, Ohio Record of Wills*, vol.[6] (Youngstown, Ohio, 1984), 20. Metzger's name appears as "Metzgar" in copy of will, but as "Metzger" in county history.
24. The following account is from William B. McCord, ed., *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens* (Chicago, 1905), 687-88.
25. McCord, *Columbiana County*, 688.
26. N.N. Hill, Jr. *History of Coshocton County, Ohio: 1740-1881, Its Past and Present* (Newark, Ohio, 1881), 309.
27. Helen Meredith, "Coshocton County, Ohio Marriages 1811-1837 and Wills 1811-1852." Unpublished, undated collection, 33.
28. Harry S. Blaine, et al., *Abstracts of Lucas County, Ohio Wills 1836-1874* (Toledo, 1954), 52.
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